

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/INS:DKUX:EI

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 169410

NODIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IN, US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR KAUL'S MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY

SUMMARY: IN JULY 16 MEETING WITH INDIAN AMBASSADOR KAUL, SECRETARY SAID USG IS SHOWING RESTRAINT IN PRESENT SITUATION AND WANTS GOOD RELATIONS WITH INDIA, BUT GOI MUST ALSO SHOW RESTRAINT. SECRETARY AND KAUL TENTATIVELY AGREED ON CHAVAN VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN THE PERIOD OCTOBER 3-5. SECRETARY SAID THAT PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE THIS YEAR WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CROWDED AND INDIA TRIP MIGHT HAVE TO SLIP TO NEXT YEAR. ON DEVELOPMENT AID, SECRETARY THOUGHT WE SHOULD LIE LOW FOR PRESENT ALTHOUGH USG PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD WITH A TITLE I PL 480 PROGRAM IF INDIAN NORTH VIETNAM AID PROGRAM DID NOT POSE LEGAL BARRIER. END SUMMARY.

1. BILATERAL RELATIONS. SECRETARY SAID THAT USG ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO RELATIONS WITH INDIA. THE USG HAS SHOWN CONFIDENTIAL

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GREAT RESTRAINT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. WE WERE NOT

GOING TO ADD TO INDIA'S DIFFICULTIES OR EMBARRASSMENT. WE HAD NOT ENCOURAGED THE PRESS TO BE CRITICAL OF INDIA. BUT THERE WAS A PROBLEM FOR US WHEN THE SAME RESTRAINT WAS NOT SHOWN ON THE INDIAN SIDE, EVEN THOUGH THE INDIAN PRESS WAS CENSORED. MRS. GANDHI HAD FIRST MADE SOME NICE REFERENCES

ABOUT U.S., BUT MORE RECENTLY HAD MADE OBLIQUE REFERENCES ABOUT OUR SUPPORT FOR YAHYA KHAN AND CHINA. WE NEEDED RECIPROCITY: INDIA HAD TO MAKE UP ITS MIND WHAT IT WANTED. KAUL SAID THAT THE GOI APPRECIATED THE USG STANCE AND CLAIMED THAT MRS. GANDHI'S REMARKS ON YAHYA KHAN WERE MISUNDERSTOOD. ACCORDING TO KAUL, SHE WAS NOT REFERRING TO USG SUPPORT FOR YAHYA KHAN BUT TO OUR PRESS. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS UNAWARE THAT THE U.S. PRESS HAD SUPPORTED YAHYA KHAN. SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WE PLACED PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE ON WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER SAID.

2. SECRETARY SAID THAT HE SAW DEFINITE POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS. HE STOOD BY THE BASIC PRINCIPLES HE OUTLINED LAST YEAR IN NEW DELHI. THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE USG POSITION TOWARD INDIA.

3. CHAVAN VISIT/JOINT COMMISSION: THE SECRETARY AND KAUL TENTATIVELY AGREED ON VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY CHAVAN IN OCTOBER 3-5 PERIOD, WITH MEETING OF JOINT COMMISSION TAKING PLACE AT THAT TIME. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THIS WOULD BE MADE LATER. KAUL EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE SUBCOMMISSIONS COULD CONTINUE THEIR WORK. HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THINGS WERE MOVING SLOWLY, POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE DATE OF THE JOINT COMMISSION MEETING. THE SECRETARY AGREED THAT THE SUBCOMMISSIONS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO MOVE AHEAD. HE SAID THAT WE HAD NO CONSCIOUS "GO SLOW" POLICY.

4. VISIT BY PRESIDENT TO INDIA. KAUL SAID THAT MRS. GANDHI ASKED HIM TO RENEW THE INVITATION TO THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT INDIA THIS YEAR. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE YEAR WAS BECOMING SOMEWHAT CROWDED. HE ASSUMED IT WOULD NOT MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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MUCH DIFFERENCE TO GOI IF THE VISIT CAME IN THE FIRST QUARTER OR SO OF 1976. KAUL SAID THAT THIS WAS ALL RIGHT AS LONG AS IT DID NOT CONFLICT WITH ELECTIONS, BUT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THE VISIT TOOK PLACE BEFORE THE END OF 1975. KAUL SAID IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF THE PRESIDENT STOPPED ELSEWHERE IN SOUTH ASIA THIS YEAR AND NOT IN INDIA. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT IF THE PRESIDENT DID NOT MAKE IT TO INDIA, HE WOULD NOT MAKE OTHER STOPS

IN SOUTH ASIA.

5. MEETING WITH PRESIDENT. SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO POSSIBILITY OF KAUL'S SEEING THE PRESIDENT.

6. ECONOMIC AID. KAUL SAID HE WAS CONCERNED OVER CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION TO AID TO INDIA. THE SECRETARY SAID

WE OPPOSED ANY EFFORT TO PENALIZE COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF THEIR DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS, BUT NOTED THAT THIS WOULD BE A HARD YEAR TO OBTAIN AID FUNDS FROM CONGRESS. FOR THE TIME BEING, HE THOUGHT IT PREFERABLE THAT ISSUE OF BILATERAL AID TO INDIA NOT BE PRESSED. WE WERE, HOWEVER, OPEN-MINDED AND COULD HAVE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS ON THIS.

7. FOOD AID. THE SECRETARY SAID WE WERE PREPARED TO GO AHEAD WITH FOOD ASSISTANCE BUT NOTED POSSIBLE LEGAL PROBLEMS OVER INDIAN AID PROGRAM TO NORTH VIETNAM. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WE WERE NOT SEARCHING FOR A PRETEXT TO CUT OFF FOOD ASSISTANCE BUT A QUESTION OF U.S. LAW IS INVOLVED ON WHICH WE WOULD OBTAIN A DEFINITIVE LEGAL OPINION. KAUL SAID THAT INDIA NEEDED 2 MILLION TONS FROM U.S., NOTING THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATION SPOKE OF ONLY 500,000 TONS OF TITLE I. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT WE WERE ALSO PLANNING 300,000 TONS UNDER TITLE II.

8. INDO-PAK RELATIONS - ARMS SUPPLY. KAUL BRIEFLY EXPRESSED "SOME DISAPPOINTMENT" OVER WHAT HE ALLEGED WAS PAKISTANI FOOT DRAGGING IN RECENT TALKS AND THEIR REACTION TO STATE OF EMERGENCY PROCLAMATION IN INDIA. HE EXPRESSED HOPE WE WOULD NOT SHIP ARMS TO PAKISTAN IN THE "PRESENT DIFFICULT PERIOD." SECRETARY SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF ANY FLOOD OF ARMS TO PAKISTAN. HE REITERATED THAT IN LIFTING

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THE ARMS EMBARGO, WE WERE REMOVING AN ANOMALY AND NOT ENGAGING IN AN ARMS RACE.

9. SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT. KAUL ALSO RAISED INDIA'S CANDIDACY FOR THE ASIAN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT AND ASKED FOR USG SUPPORT. SECRETARY NOTED THAT OUR NORMAL POLICY WAS TO BE GUIDED BY THE CONSENSUS OF THE REGIONAL GROUP. WHEN KAUL SAID NO CONSENSUS WAS LIKELY TO EMERGE, THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO LOOK FURTHER INTO THE MATTER AND WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH THE INDIANS. HE SAID HIS INCLINATION WAS TO AVOID GETTING CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE IN THIS SORT OF CONTEST.

10. STATE OF EMERGENCY - WASHINGTON POST. KAUL ALSO COMPLAINED AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT WASHINGTON POST CORRESPONDENT

LEWIS SIMONS AND JUSTIFIED THE PROCLAMATION OF THE  
EMERGENCY ACCORDING TO FAMILIAR GOI LINE. HE EXPRESSED  
THE VIEW THAT THE SUPREME COURT WAS LIKELY TO OVERTURN  
MRS. GANDHI'S LOWER COURT CONVICTION, NOTING THAT EVEN  
IF THE COURT UPHELD THE JUDGMENT, THE ELECTION COMMISSION-  
ER COULD SET THE PENALTY ASIDE. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEMBERSHIP, PRESS COMMENTS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, ARMS EMBARGO, POLITICAL SITUATION, CAT-C  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 18 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE169410  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** DKUX:EI  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P850036-2625, N750002-0149  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750742/aaaablct.tel  
**Line Count:** 175  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL; SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** AMBASSADOR KAUL'S MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PDEV, IN, US, PK, UNSC, WASHINGTON POST, (GANDHI, INDIRA), (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (CHAVAN, Y B), (KAUL, T N), (SIMONS, LEWIS)  
**To:** NEW DELHI ISLAMABAD  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006